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ABSTRACT

This study reports on an analysis of questions which were used in the pursuit of understanding in three focussed discussions, two by native speakers (NSs) and one by non-native speakers (NNs). Twelve adult subjects, four NNs and eight NSs, were used. In 66 minutes, only 30 questions were used for the purpose of pursuing understanding. These questions were classified as open questions, leading questions, challenges, and softened assertions. It was found that the forms used for these four functions varied systematically along a cline of forms ranging from more to less assertive. the NNs selected less assertive forms than the younger NSs, and the younger NSs selected less assertive forms than the older NSs. Age, cultural background, and role of questioner in the discussion may affect the selection of form, but generalizations can be made applicable only to these subjects. It is not known to what extent the subjects typify the various groups in which they hold membership. However, it can be stated that different groups of speakers, using the same linguistic resources, shape the discourse in different ways, according to features in the context. Such information about what is happening at discourse level has significance for the teaching and learning of English for both NSs and NNs. (Author/AMH)

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NEGOTIATING FOR UNDERSTANDING

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Though people speak of exchanging thoughts and ideas, it is in fact impossible to do so. People engaged in discourse exchange utterances, with accompaniments such as sighs, laughter, grimaces, and gestures, utterances which are apprehended by listeners to some indeterminate degree within the context of some fit between life experiences.

The question that we wish to address is: Granted that the chief strategy that people use to cope with the ambiguities of communication is by assuming understanding, are there also strategies for pursuing understanding? We ask this question about participants in a particular kind of discourse--a discussion with an externally imposed focus--and we look at one particular kind of understanding--the participants' understanding of their fellow participants' ideas about the topics under discussion.

We are looking for uses of language which manifest such strategies; that is, we are looking for language--in this case English--in the pursuit-of-understanding function. We ask if the language used for the pursuit of understanding correlates in any principled way with identifiable features in the discourse or in the situation or in both, and if so, if it does so in the same or different ways for native and non-native English speakers. With English increasingly used as an international language, it seems to us important to explore how non-native as well as native speakers shape its use in discourse.

This paper will present some tentative findings on the use of English for the pursuit of understanding by some non-native speakers discussing

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topics among themselves and by some native speakers discussing the same topics among themselves. We have limited ourselves to the analysis of questions, and we will argue that the specific ways that questions are used in the pursuit of understanding correlate primarily with the questioner's role in the discourse. We are thus working in the area of discourse analysis in the sense that we are trying to find relationships between language form and language function and to identify elements in the situation which influence the form/function relationship. We would call our investigation a sociolinguistic one and place it within the framework laid out by Hymes (1962).

Subjects and data collection

Our twelve subjects were three groups of ESL specialists: four non-native English speakers (NN = non-native speakers) who had known each other about six months, one each from Burma, Fiji, Korea, and Thailand, in mid-career, three participating in an East West Center professional development program and one a doctoral student in linguistics; four native speaker faculty members from the University of Hawaii ESL Department in mid-career (NM = native speakers in mid-career) well known to each other and comparable in professional status to the four non-native speakers; and four native speaker graduate teaching assistants at the beginning of their careers (NB = native speakers at beginning career) doing MA level studies in the University of Hawaii ESL Department, three of whom had known each other for about nine months, the fourth being a newcomer one month preceding the discussion. The NMs were three men and one woman; the NBs and NNs each were two men and two women. The NNs and NBs teach English language skills to non-native speakers; the NMs teach in an ESL teacher preparation program. The NNs had, in addition to their six-month stay in Hawaii, all spent other

time studying abroad, two in the mainland United States and two in England. All four had excellent command of English.

We asked each of these three groups to meet as a working committee. We assigned them a task which required discussion of set topics with the goal of reaching a consensus on each topic. The data that we analyzed were tapes of these discussions.

The discussions were staged. We told our subjects that we were interested in comparing the ideas of international (in this case, Asian and Pacific) and American ESL specialists on selected pedagogical practices. To stimulate discussion, we borrowed a type of values clarification exercise (Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum 1972:252-254) and gave it ESL content. It was a questionnaire listing five statements about what an ESL teacher should do (e.g., Teachers should expect students to read aloud with good pronunciation) and five statements about what ESL students should do (e.g., Students should speak only English in English class). There were four possible responses to each statement: Strongly Agree (SA); Agree Somewhat (AS); Disagree Somewhat (DS); and Strongly Disagree (SD). Such a questionnaire is of course deliberately designed to forestall "no opinion" responses. See Appendix 1 for a copy of the questionnaire.

Our procedure was to set up a one-hour meeting with each of the three groups at which one of us was present to give instructions and to take care of the taping. We withdrew from the interaction after giving the instructions. The instructions were for each person to respond independently and privately to each of the ten statements, to compare answers with each other, to mark for discussion those on which there was no consensus, to spend about five minutes thinking about their own responses to the statements so marked, and then to discuss the statements and attempt to reach a consensus, changing

the wording of the original statements as appropriate to reflect their consensus. We suggested a maximum time limit of five minutes for the discussion of each statement. We told the participants not to spend any time in writing out their final positions. We said that we would do that, getting our information from the tape.

It was only the first five statements, about what teachers should do, that drew no initial consensus in any of the three groups. Our analysis is based on the discussions of these five statements. The NNs spent 28 minutes about equally divided among the five. The NMs spent only 12 minutes and spent most of that on the first and fifth statements. The NBs spent 26 minutes, also with disproportionate time on the first and fifth statements.

Method

It seems to be the common case in discourse analysis that researchers simply wrestle with the data, looking for some principled patterns significant to the interaction. So with us. We first transcribed the data following the system of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), and in our subsequent study of the data we worked back and forth between the transcripts and the tapes. Intonation and tone of voice was crucial to our understanding of what was being said. Also one of us had been present at each discussion, and so we had some memory of our understanding of what had gone on at the time.

From examining the data we concluded that there were two obvious strategies for pursuing understanding: one was for a speaker to use statements to summarize his perception of what another had said and the other was for a speaker to ask questions of another. We decided to examine questions, since their variation in form gave us a linguistic point of departure. We think that analysis of the statements would require a discourse point of departure, and our analysis of the discourse structure

of these discussions is at present extremely sketchy and intuitive.

We identified questions both on the basis of their having question form, using our own linguistic and communicative competence to fill in ellipses and interpret malformations, and on the basis of finding an answer. We marked for study only those questions which in our judgment related to the substance of the topic under discussion. We did not concern ourselves with rhetorical questions or questions about how the discussion was or should be proceeding. We then classified each question on the basis of its function, its place in the discourse and the role of the questioner. From there we proceeded to look for form/function correlations and for relationships between those correlations and discourse position and questioner role.

Findings and discussion

We found thirty substantive questions, 12 in the NM data, 10 in the NB data, and 8 in the NN data. On the basis of their use in the interaction, we identified four question functions:

1. Open questions, seeking information
2. Leading questions, helping another formulate or clarify his or her ideas, helping the group reach a consensus, or seeking confirmation of another's ideas
3. Challenges, indicating disagreement with another's expressed ideas, and, if carefully attended to, serving to provide information about the beliefs of the questioner
4. Softened assertions, stating one's belief or understanding and at the same time seeking confirmation of it from the others

We distinguished two questioner roles, that of discussant and that of middleman. There was another role, that of traffic controller, which was not directly relevant to our investigation. All participants in the discussions were by definition discussants, All discussions had at least one person who assumed the role of middleman. The middleman oversees substantive

matters; the traffic controller, procedural matters. The middleman speaks not in the engaged voice of the discussant but in the detached voice of the intermediary.

We concluded that only participants in the role of middleman asked leading questions. Indeed our definition of middleman has come to be that he or she is the person who is asking a leading question--though the middleman does other things, too, like summarizing the ideas of others, which lie outside the scope of this investigation. The other three kinds of questions were asked by participants in their role as discussant.

We identified, in a very rough and intuitive way, three parts to the discussion of each of the five topics: the beginning, which we have called the presentation, the middle, the exploration, and the end, the accommodation.[1] We think that these may be exchanges in the terms of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), but we are not sure. We found only one question in our data the analysis of which depended on locating it in the discourse. We will return to this point below.

In Appendix 2 are excerpts from the tapescripts of all three group discussions containing the thirty questions and our classification of them in terms of form, function, role of questioner, and position in discourse.

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[1]We believe that a focussed discussion is a kind of discourse that has at least a beginning and an end. It may also have a middle. During the beginning, the presentation, the topic is stated and each participant indicates his or her position and the reasons for it. In effect they all put their cards on the table. We did not count a presentation to be ended until everyone's position was known. The exploration then proceeds and continues as long as the participants are trying to find out more about the ideas of others or are trying to elaborate their own. Once their minds have met as much as they are going to, they come to the accommodation. This may result in a consensus, real or pro forma, or in a decision to agree to disagree or just in throwing in the towel. After efforts at accommodation are underway, exploration may be re-introduced and the cycle picked up from there.

The beginning of each group's discussion is included, and we have tried to provide enough of each discussion to suggest the flavor of it.

In looking at form/function correlations, we found some WH questions that were open, some polar VS questions that were leading, some polar elliptical (SV?) questions that were challenges, and one (of two) affirmative tags with right that was a softened assertion. For example:

WH, open (W_1NM)

→ G. Well if you two had them read aloud, in the first place, what would you expect?

C. Oh I'd try for uh, well I don't know if I would uh, I would have em read aloud.

W. °Yeh, but uh, you wouldn't expect them to,=

C. °Yeh.

W. =°read aloud.

Polar VS, leading (P_5NM)

→ G. (Well) would you put it in their way? Would you put, new vocabulary in their way so they'd have to learn?

(2 sec)

W. No. I wouldn't.

Polar SV(?)(elliptical), challenge (P_1NM)

G. Yeh, well I I uh disagree somewhat because uh if they're reading aloud there must have been a purpose for it in the first place. And, uh I'm not sure that I would have them read aloud much but if they're doing it [C. Laughs] there must be a reason.

→ W. But with good pronunciation? (Does[n't)] [Laughs]

G. [Yeh, that,] that could be a reason.

Affirmative tag, softened assertion (P_7NM)

W. . . . I'm, en- envisioning the idea of- the ideal classroom,

→ where students interact and learn English, and whatever they needs they have, they'll learn, that vocabulary right? [Laughs.]

C. Wrong.

[All laugh.]

But we also found WH questions that were leading instead of open, polar VS questions that were challenges instead of leading and one polar SV question that was a softened assertion instead of a challenge. For example:

WH, leading (W_2NN)

Q. I think grammatical explanations will help our students learn a foreign [language.]

→ L. [What] level of instruction do you have in mind when you say that?

Q. U:h.

O. Like at the begin, beginner's beginner's level or intermediate level?

Q. Intermediate level.

L. I see.

Polar VS, challenge (P_4NB)

M. Uh, I don't know. I don't really agree with this building block theory, yaknow, that you start, after you have this then you put this on top and that on top I think it's much, more a ( ), process which is going on lots of directions and you learn what you need.

(3 sec)

→ T. Do you think something that unfocussed there's really learning taking place?

M. Mmhmn. Sure. [Look at uh the number of peo]ple =

B. [( ) natural language]

M. =who learn languages wi[thout going to school] you know,

B. [Without, sure, yeh]

Polar SV, softened assertion (P_2NB)

B. And I'm willing to ch, switch it to "strongly agree," too

. [Female laughter]

M. Because I can't see any uh, vocabulary it seems to be like yknow one of the ma:jor [B. Mmhmn.] problems, you know, and I can't see any reason not to.

B. In other words these restricted books in the beginning where they have- a limited vocabulary like if you have a beginning class, [M. Mmhmn.] uh, the're several series that have very limited [vocabularies.]

T. [Seven hundred [wor] ds, twelve] hundred words,

(M.) [Guided vocabulary.]

B. Yeh.

M. Hnh.

→ B. And that ch you- think that right from the beginning there should be a beefing up of the vocabulary?

M. Attention drawn to it. Uh I don't think you have to use controlled materials.

B. Yeh, OK.

In seeking an explanation for this lack of form/function fit, we noted first that it is in the nature of a polar question that it can contain all the constituents of an assertion and of a WH question that it cannot. We would like to propose that the questions which we have examined represent a cline from softened assertion to no-assertion questions, as follows:

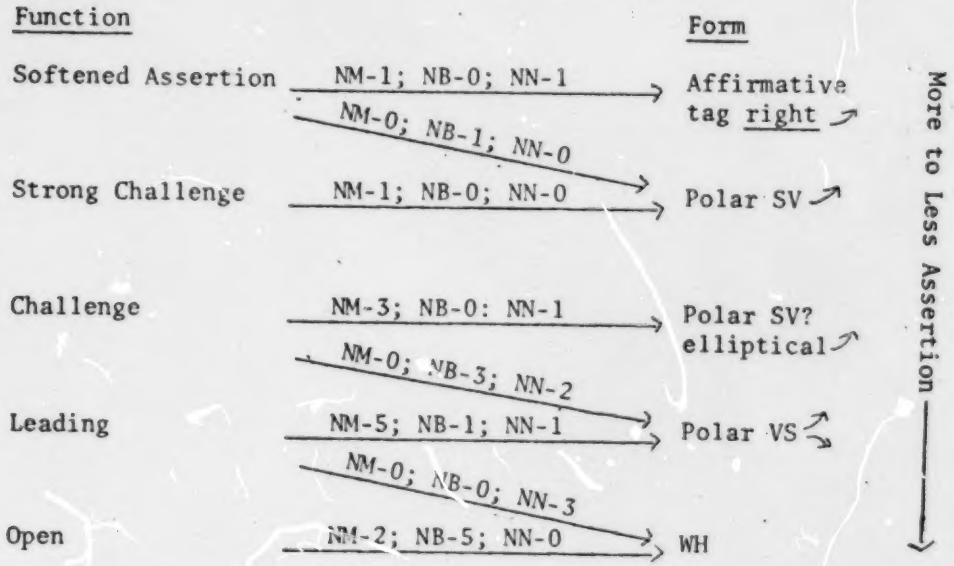
FIGURE 1. Cline from Softened Assertion to No-assertion

Softened Assertion	Affirmative tag (right), rising intonation
↓	Polar, SV, rising intonation
	Polar, SV?, elliptical, rising intonation
	Polar, VS, rising intonation
No-assertion	WH

When we line up question forms along this cline and note the functions that we have identified for each, we get the following display, on which

we also indicate the number of each kind of question asked by each group.[2]

FIGURE 2. Form/Function Correlations



In Figure 2 the horizontal arrows indicate the expected correlations and hence might be considered unmarked. Downward arrows indicate the unexpected, or marked, correlations. The marked correlations show a systematic downshifting of the function from the expected form to the form which is down one step on the cline, which is one step less assertive.

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[2]Incorporated into Figure 2 are several seeming departures from the system presented there. We explained them away as follows:

1. One polar SV question (P_6NM) was not a challenge but a leading question. But it was a repeat of a preceding leading question that was Polar VS. Hence, the presence of repetition explains the departure.

2. How about questions are problems. The explicit question simply focusses on a topic: How about SOMETHING? There is in addition an implied question, which may be either a polar or a WH question: As for SOMETHING, VS? or As for SOMETHING, what VS? We have classified the two how about questions in our data (P_2NN and P_3NM) as polar questions because in context they were paraphrasable as polar questions.

The downshifting of Leading to WH and Challenge to Polar VS appears to result from the desire of the questioner to be less assertive. But the downshifting of Softened Assertion to Polar SV does not fit that characterization (see P_2NB above). It was at this point that we looked to the position of the question in the discourse for a clue. P_2NB occurs in the accommodation period. A challenge could occur in this period, but if it does, it either goes unanswered or else exploration is reopened. Neither happens here. So P_2NB is not a challenge. But it does make sense to view it as a softened assertion. Further, the questioner is assuming the role of middleman, the only example we found in the data of a middleman asking other than a leading question. Hence position seems the crucial determinant of function. This is the only evidence that we found in the data of the relevance of position to function.

We can make the following further observations about the Form/Function Correlations displayed in Figure 2.

1. Only the NNs and NBs use downshifting.
2. The NBs use the most open questions and the fewest leading questions.
3. The NNs use only one challenge question.
4. The NMs and NBs used proportionately the same number of challenges (one third of their total questions) but only the NBs downshifted them.

To try to account for these different ways of exploiting the available resources in language, we need to look at the roles of the questioners more closely. We summarize these in Figure 3, showing there also the number of questions asked by each participant and the function of each

To the information in Figure 3 about the roles of discussant and middleman we need to add information about the role of traffic controller, which we mentioned earlier as being only indirectly related to our investigation. The

FIGURE 3. Questioner Roles and Question Functions

	Subject	No. of questions and functions	Role of questioner and no. of questions asked
NM	C	Leading 1 Challenge 1	Discussant 1 Middleman 1
	W	Challenge 1 Sof. Asser. 1	Discussant 2
	R	Challenge 3	Discussant 3
	G	Leading 4 Open 1	Middleman 4 Discussant 1
NB	M	Open 1	Discussant 1
	T	Challenge 1	Discussant 1
	N	Challenge 1 Open 2	Discussant 3
	B	Leading 1 Sof. Asser. 1 Challenge 1 Open 1	Middleman 2 Discussant 3
NN	L	Challenge 2	Discussant 2
	O	Leading 4 Sof. Asser. 1 Challenge 1	Discussant 2 Middleman 4
	Q	No questions	
	F	No questions	

traffic controllers, it will be recalled, manages procedural matters. In all three groups the person that self-selected himself or herself to speak first assumed the role of traffic controller by so doing. For the NMs it was C, who retained that role throughout with minimal assistance from the

others. For the NBs B was the first traffic controller but later the role was shared about equally by all four members of the group. For the NNs O was the first and only traffic controller.

Taking into account both the distribution of the traffic controller role as narrated above and the middleman role as displayed in Figure 3, we make the following observations:

1. With the NMs and NBs the two managerial roles of middleman and traffic controller were assumed by different people; with the NNs they were assumed by the same person.

2. NBs assumed the middleman role least. Though our display does not reveal it, the tapescript shows that the NBs often worked communally to put utterances together.

3. NBs asked the most open questions. The NMs asked only one and the NNs none.

4. Of the thirty questions, 11 were challenges, 10 were leading, 6 were open, and 3 were softened assertions.

Conclusions

The main conclusion that we have come to in this investigation is that the participants in these focussed discussions did not make very extensive use of questions to pursue understanding. In 66 minutes only 30 questions were asked for that purpose. Challenges (11) and leading questions (10) each accounted for one-third of this total. As we have already suggested in our characterization of the question functions, challenges can throw light on the beliefs of the questioner, since they can be viewed as concealed assertions. Leading questions are sometimes simply probes for known answers, though they may at times also help the respondent formulate and clarify his or her own beliefs. Of the 7 open questions, two were answered evasively (W_1NM and W_2N , and one was restated as a yes/no question before it was answered (W_4NB). The evasive answers turned out to be clues that there was a mismatch between the ways the questioners and respondents were interpreting the statement

under discussion. The ones that were answered directly shed light on the perceptions of the respondents.

With so few subjects and such limited data we cannot tell if the differences between the groups lie only in the individuals who happened to comprise them or if those individuals typify at least to some degree their age group, their professional group, their cultural group--meaning by cultural group American contrasted with non-western, predominantly Asian--or other groups of which they might be members. We presume that the differences derive from both sources, but we do not know how to sort them out.

There <u>are</u> differences. We have already pointed out that the NNs had one person in control of both procedural and substantive aspects of the discussion. Only this person and one other asked substantive questions, the former asking six and the latter two. The NN's discussion was the most firmly managed of the three.

The NB's discussion was the least managed. Among the NBs the person who asked the most questions (five as compared to one, one, and three for the other three) was also the initial traffic controller and performed minimally as middleman. But for the most part the four members of the group shared managerial responsibilities and worked communally to reach agreements. Half of their ten questions were open, and their three challenges were downshifted. There seems to have been a clear effort on everyone's part not to "take over," either procedurally or substantively.

The NMs struck a midpoint between the NNs and NBs. They had one person who was the primary traffic controller and another who was primary middleman. The role of middleman was assumed proportionately less often by the NMs than by the NNs. Their challenges were not downshifted, as were those of the NBs

and one of their challenges was a strong one.

All three groups used the same language resources but they used them in different ways. We think that in discussion groups made up of both native and non-native speakers of English both could benefit from some understanding of how the other uses the language for the pursuit of understanding.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Pedagogical Practices in ESL

Circle the response which most closely indicates the way you feel about each item.

SA = Strongly Agree
AS = Agree Somewhat
DS = Disagree Somewhat
SD = Strongly Disagree

Teachers should

1.	expect students to read aloud with good pronunciation.	SA	AS	DS	SD
2.	emphasize vocabulary acquisition from the beginning.	SA	AS	DS	SD
3.	make a lot of use of dialogues.	SA	AS	DS	SD
4.	give grammatical explanations to their students.	SA	AS	DS	SD
5.	teach simple structures before complex ones.	SA	AS	DS	SD

Students should

6.	help each other with their English assignments.	SA	AS	DS	SD
7.	speak only English in English class.	SA	AS	DS	SD
8.	guess at the answers to questions (in English class).	SA	AS	DS	SD
9.	use a monolingual English dictionary.	SA	AS	DS	SD
10.	speak relative correctly (or not at all).	SA	AS	DS	SD

APPENDIX 2

Excerpts from the tapescripts

TEXT 1 Native speakers--mid-career (NM)

Topic: "Teachers should have students read aloud with good pronunciation."

C. Number one. I'm uhs, a strong disagreer.

W. I, I strongly disagree, too ( ) expect students to read aloud [with [good pronunciation.]

G. [*Disagree somewhat.]

C. [W is a] disa just a DSer.

G. Yeh, well I I uh disagree somewhat because uh if they're reading aloud there must have been a purpose for it in the first place. And, uh I'm not sure that I would have them read aloud much but if they're doing it [C. Laughs.] there must be a reason.

P_1NM

Form: Yes/no, elliptical, rising intonation, prefaced with but, probably SV order.
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: W as discussant
Addressed to: G
Answered by: G
Function: Challenge
Note: W accepts G's answer in the sense that she confirms that he did mean what he said.

P_1NM W. But with good pronunciation? (Does [n't) [Laughs]

G. [Yeh, that,] that could be a reason.

W. Yeh, oh.

G. But uh. I'm not in favor of reading aloud in the first pl [ace,]

C. [Right,] for starters.

W. Yeh.

C. That's:

G. So that's why I'm, I'm a "disagree somewhat."

[R takes essentially the same position as G -- that though he himself would not have students read aloud he assumes that teachers who do must have some purpose in doing so and that work on pronunciation might be that purpose. W and C make it clear from their responses to G and R's reasons that they don't think good pronunciation has any relevance to reading. But the two sides don't seem to have it clear that W and C are associating the reference to reading with a reference to the reading process and G and R are associating it with oral production.]

W_1NM

Form: WH complete (what)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: G as discussant
Addressed to: W and C
Answered by: W and C--evasively
Function: Open
Note: W and C found the question meaningless. A challenge by R to W follows.

W_1NM G. Well if you two had them read aloud, in the first place, what would you expect?

C. Oh I'd try for uh, well I don't know if I would uh, I would have em read aloud.

W. *Yeh, but uh, you wouldn't expect them to, =

C. *Yeh.

W. =*read aloud.

P_2NM

Form: Yes/no, elliptical, rising intonation. Two related questions; both probably have underlying SV word order.
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: R as discussant
Addressed to: W
Answered by: W
Function: Challenge
Note: W makes small concession; R continues his challenge.

P_2NM R. Never? Can't think of any circumstances under which you'd have, people read aloud?

P_3NM
Form: Implied Yes/no (how about)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: R as discussant
Addressed to: W
Answered by: W
Function: Challenge
Note: W's answer leads to further challenge by R.

P_4NM
Form: Yes/no, SV order, rising intonation
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: R as discussant
Addressed to: W
Answered by: W
Function: Challenge
Note: W's answer reveals the mismatch in W's and R's thinking.

W_2NM
Form: WH (how), interrupted - How do you insure good pronunciation?
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: C as discussant
Addressed to: R
Answered by: R, who counters with a rhetorical question, which he answers.
Function: Open
Note: Question is rejected by R as invalid. G goes on to summarize the source of their disagreement.

P_5NM
Form: Yes/no, inverted, falling intonation
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: G as middleman
Addressed to: W
Answered by: W
Function: Leading, to help W formulate her thoughts
Note: W's answer leads to G's repeating the question.

P_6NM
Form: Yes/no, SV word order, falling intonation
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: G as middleman
Addressed to: W
Answered by: W
Function: Leading, seeking further confirmation of W's ideas
Note: This is a repeat in different words of P_5

P_7NM
Form: Affirmative tag (Right?) Rising intonation
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: W as discussant
Addressed to: Group
Answered by: C
Function: Softened assertion
Note: W knows the others probably won't agree with her.

W. Oh maybe uh, you know "What what sentence you got there" f- for [teaching- writing.]

R. [How about poetry?]

W. Oh no. I wouldn't uh,

R. Poetry shouldn't be, said aloud? read aloud?

C. [Performed] aloud.

W. [Hm.] The idea of good pronunciation is the part, particularly- [Laughs.] (You'd say uh), correcting their pronunciation all the time.

R. I didn't say anything about correction. I's just-

W. Well.

C. Well, how do you insure-

R. -expect them to. [All laugh] What's good-

W. (Yeh) expect em to be good anyway.

R. Good to me is understandable.

G. Yeh. Well it seems two things are mixed up. You know, if you're teaching uh pronunciation, you're uh probably not at the point where you're going to have them read aloud anyway. It seems as though the two things are, out of focus.

[They conclude by agreeing to "Disagree Somewhat" with the original statement, one of the few instances in all three groups that a consensus was couched in negative form.]

Topic: "Teachers should emphasize vocabulary acquisition from the beginning."

[All have agreed somewhat except W. W is the first to present reasons.]

W. I said "Disagree Somewhat." Uh (2 sec) Hm. (5 sec) Well, I don't know, I, hm, I feel that tuh they'll learn, what they need to learn. Now- "from the beginning" I don't know. That's the hard part but,

(3 sec)

G. (Well) would you put it in their way? Would you put, new vocabulary in their way so they'd have to learn?

(2 sec)

W. No. I wouldn't.

G. You wouldn't, deliberately (do anything about it)?

W. No, of course I'm, en- envisioning the idea of- the ideal classroom, where the students interact and learn English, and whatever they needs they have, they'll learn, that vocabulary right? [Laughs.]

C. Wrong.

[All laugh]

W. OK. I guess you do have to- I don't know- [I think emphas, emphasize it.] -

C. [Yeh: I guess, kills it.]

W. - emphasize vocabulary acquisition.

R. Hmm.

W. ("I wouldn't do it.)

[R then points out that in his personal experience he felt handicapped by not knowing words and so he believes vocabulary should be emphasized. C says that he had interpreted the statement to mean that teachers should help students learn how to acquire words, not just give word lists. W says that she can go along with that.

Topic: "Teachers should teach simple structures before complex ones."

[R disagrees somewhat. He has the strongest feelings in the group. W and C in general agree with him that teachers should teach whatever is needed, regardless of complexity. Then G says he interpreted the statement to refer to explicit teaching of grammar, and he thinks that <u>if</u> grammar is being taught--and he takes no position on that--simple to complex ordering would seem reasonable. R pursues his arguments that matching structures to students' maturity levels is what is important. C suggests that they all are really in agreement, but R continues by pointing out that we don't know what simple and complex are anyway and that adults are probably able to handle complex structures, whatever they are. C suggests that a lot can be read into the notion of complexity, that it could for example include embedding. The following excerpt is at the end of the discussion.]

P_8NH
Form: Yes/no, inverted, mid-intonation
Position: Accommodation
Questioner and Role: C as middleman
Addressed to: W and R
Answered by: W and R
Function: Leading, to help group reach consensus
Note: W and R still don't want to move from DS to AS

P_8NH C. On the whole if you had your druthers, if it were W's ideal situation, wouldn't you rather have somewhat (3 sec) not really heavy-duty, complex sentences, compound,

W. Well. (2 sec) Yeh. I think, <u>essentially</u> they would, generate, their own, or you know, what they needed to do. So, wouldn't matter.

R. Maybe they'd be more- fun to work with than uh, than the simple stuff, for some people.

(13 sec)

W. "Well why don't <u>you</u> people move over. Laughs. "Why don't <u>you</u> move overhhh.

C. You want us to go to strong- s disagree somewhat?

W. Course. Eh.

(3 sec)

C. I uh you see I I see these to, two (eh). That's why I said when I, we first started talking about it, seems like we're almost in the same boat, cuz you, you can, you know, if you if you <u>somewhat</u> disagree that means you also agree <u>somewhat</u>.

R. Hm.

(1 sec)

C. Righhht?

R. That's true.

[All laugh]

G. Suppose you take a (task) of learning for instance.

C. Yeh. OK.

P_9^{NM}

Form: Yes/no, inverted, rising intonation
Position: Accommodation
Questioner and Role: G as middleman
Addressed to: Group
Answered by: C and W
Function: Leading, to help group reach consensus
Note: This question leads into the next.

P_{10}^{NM}

Form: Yes/no, inverted, rising intonation
Position: Accommodation
Questioner and Role: G as middleman
Addressed to: Group
Answered by: W and R
Function: Leading, to get consensus
Note: No consensus reached; group gives up

G. Do you teach the simple before you teach the complex?

C. Yeh.

W. Yeh.

(3 sec)

C. (To W) Then you gotta move then.

G. Is it any different with language?

(4 sec)

W. Maybe.

R. Might be, yeh. Might be that you teach the complex and then you find out what the simple things are that make up the complex. I don't know.

(4 sec)

G. Well I'd be willin to move.

[W. Laughs.]

(4 sec)

G. I'm not sure--uh what I meanhhh.

[R and G laugh.]

[End of discussion on this topic.]

TEXT 2. Native speakers--beginning career (NB)

Topic: "Teachers should expect students to read aloud with good pronunciation."

B. Uh (2 sec) for the- questions first of all how did you interpret them? For what level? 'K Did you lump them all together under one level er, when you were, thinking of these items?

K. No I didn't. I was thinking (3 sec) ah of various levels, um, that, generally there's a, can be a purpose, hmm? for any, of these, that's I really didn't strongly disagree, in the sense, of excluding anything, cuz I think uh there's something, within each one that tuh, can fulfill a certain, function,

B. Yeh, but I think it would determine like if you were have talking about a beginning class it would determine (2 sec) if you were talking about a- a beginning class whether you used dialogs or not, as compared to an advanced or intermediate class.

T. Yeh I think the responses to these would-cuz I was thinking of, OK like- when I've had students like a junior high level, I would tend to, feel more strongly about some of these as being important to that level [M. Mmhmm.] as compared to the ELI students now.

M. Mmhmm.

B. Yeh.

T. So I don't know if the're that many •

B. •That we can make- •That you could-

T. •general statements that we can make.

B. Maybe we can put in, qualifiers.

M. Mmhmm.

B. What did everyone have for one?

T. Is the "Expect students to read aloud with good pronunciation?"

M. Mmhmm.

T. I strongly disagree with that one.

B. I [would-]

N. [I] disagree somewhat.

M. Mmhmm. So do I.

B. OK. Why the "somewhat?"

M. Mmhmm?

(2 sec)

N. U:h, well again I think it depends on what level of, of students you're working with. Uh, in some cases, i, if it's a matter of communicating to, other, students if- the nature of the class involves students communicating with each other through reading, then I would expect, them to read with good pronunciation, so that, they could be understood.

M. Mm.

T. Course what is "good," that's such a-

N. Yeh.

M. Yeh.

P_1^{NB} P_1^{NB}

Form: Yes/no, inverted, rising intonation, prefaced with Dya think
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: B as middleman
Addressed to: N and possibly M
Answered by: M
Function: Leading, to help N and M straighten out their ideas
Note: We know that B thinks their ideas need straightening out from her own position, which is expressed later.

B. But dya think 'at oral reading has a place, even in, [M. Mmhmm.] a reading class?

M. Well I think, like my interpretation was that tuh, to expect students to read aloud with good pronunciation that tuh, I would , use that, specifically, as a pronunciation exercise, not as a reading exercise.

B. Uh.

T. Or a [communic]ation exerci [se.]

M. [But I] [I] think, by using uh, you know a text, and uh you know you can kind of get into a uh, some intonation patterns uh, various things that, again, just for this purpose of pronunciation.

B. I think reading is entirely different from speaking, and that, I don't see reading being any, use at all er uh oral reading.

[The ensuing exploration of the topic is mainly about situations where pronunciation might be dealt with through reading. In the end they agree on the disassociation of reading and pronunciation but say there may be aspects of pronunciation that can be handled through reading.]

Topic: "Teachers should emphasize vocabulary acquisition from the beginning."

T. Emphasize vocabulary acquisition from the beginning." Let's see we both: what, what did you,

M. Oh I, I strongly agreed, [with] that.

( ) [Hmn.]

B. And you?

M. I strongly uh agreed.

B. [I-]

T. [I] agreed somewhat.

B. And I'm willing to ch, switch it to "strongly agree," too.

Female laughter

M. Because I can't see any uh, vocabulary it seems to be like yknow one of the ma:jor [B. Mmhmm.] problems, you know, and I can't see any reason not to.

B. In other words these restricted books in the beginning where they have- a limited vocabulary like if you have a beginning class, [M. Mmhmm.] uh, the're several series that have very limited [vocabularies.]

T. [Seven hundred [wor] ds, twelve-]

(M.) [Guided vocabulary.]

T. -hundred words,

B. Yeh.

M. Hmh.

P_2NB

Form: Yes/no, SV word order, rising intonation, prefaced with you think
Position: Accommodation
Questioner and Role: B as middleman
Addressed to: Group
Answered by: M
Function: Softened assertion, serving as a summary of B's understanding of the group's position.
Note: M offers a refinement of the summary. Consensus was easy on this topic. There was no exploration of the topic.

P_2NB

B. And that ch you- think that right from the beginning there should be a beefing up of vocabulary?

M. Attention drawn to it. Uh I don't think you have to use controlled materials.

B. Yeh, OK.

M. Bu-

B. Everybody strongly agree?

( ) I strongly-

T. I can change mine.

M. I do.

B. OK.

M. Agree to strongly agree.

[End of discussion of this topic.]

Topic: "Teachers should teach simple structures before complex ones."

[The group spend considerable time trying to decide what "simple" and "complex" mean.

W_1NB

Form: WH complete (what)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: M as discussant
Addressed to: All others
Answered by: All others
Function: Open

W_1NB

M. But, but, uh what do you mean by simple structures?

B. Let's [see.] That [would be,] that's [why I (think)] =

M. [Short?] [Because that's-]

T. [( )]

N. [( )]

B. =we should identify what what complex, I (always) think complex to me is passive voi-:ce, is uh =

T. Hm co[ndi]tional and-

N. [Yeh.]

B. =uh: participials used [M. Mmhmn.] as adjectives uh, uh, shortened uh relative clauses,

N. I would think of things uh, uh, past tense is, a simple structure [B. Yeh.] future tense, and uh the progressive tenses, are all, simple structures in my way of thinking, [M. Mmhmn] and-

M. OK but, OK a more complex uh, is the present perfect, which is one of the [most uh] commonly used,

B. [Is it?]

P_3NB

Form: Yes/no, inverted, rising intonation
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: B as discussant
Addressed to: M
Answered by: M
Function: Challenge
Note: B's first attempt at the question is Is it? which overlaps part of M's utterance.

P_3NB

B. Is that uh compl- what you call complex that?

M. Well compared to uh, =

B. I wouldn't.

M. =the ones mentioned. Simple past. Progressive and uh,

B. °I wouldn't think the progressive was complex.

T. I wouldn't, I [wouldn't call that difficult.]

B. [I don't know ( )] determine what you would mean by complex, I was thinking things that are really in advanced grammar, like passive voice, structure,

M. Mmhmn.

T. But very few students that- I know- whom you you've ever had [that have ever been able to use that.]

B. [( ) passive voice that way.] Yeh.

W_2NB

Form: WH complete (what)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: B as discussant
Addressed to: M
Answered by: M
Function: Open

W_2NB

°What else would be complex?

T. Well of course it's- all very relative to what you're teaching, I mean some of the things we're talking about, I suppose might be considered, yaknow simple, to one class and very difficult to another, even, even tenses, something like past perfect,, and present perfect, some people yaknow I've had students who have real trouble keeping the, the time structure right. You never know.

B. Yeh I would think those were more complex.

(6 sec)

T. But, but things like passive voice or participials er, that's something that, they would really need, several years of, of living in an English speaking community to really become fluent. I think at that level, either in speaking or writing (3.5 sec) so that's not the kind of problem that you'd really [worry that mu] ch about.

M. [Well in a =]

M. =I think frequency, uh would have a, a, a bearing. We use, certain, complex structures, frequently (2 sec) and I think uh, those should be, made, available, soon.

W_3NB

Form: WH elliptical (what)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: B as discussant
Addressed to: M
Answered by: M
Function: Open

W_3NB B. °Like what?

M. (°I don't think I can think of one.) [Laughter.] But uh: re-ativization. Uh, really, [B. Rel, uh] °in a sense uh. Of course that's pretty much in writing though yaknow? I'm not so sure, we use them that much in speaking.

[Discussion continues about 2 minutes with differing points of view on how much structures should be controlled.]

M. Uh, I don't know. I don't really agree with this building block theory, yaknow, that you start, after you have this then you put this on top and that on top I think it's much, more a, scatological, process which is going on lots of directions and you learn what you need,

(3 sec)

P_4NB

Form: Yes/no, inverted, rising intonation
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: T as discussant
Addressed to: M
Answered by: M
Function: Challenge

P_4NB T. Do you think something that unfocussed there's really learning taking place?

M. Mmhmn. Sure. [Look at uh look at the number of peo] ple=

B. [( ) natural language]

M. =who learn languages wi[thout going to school] you know,

B. [Without, sure, yeh.]

(2 sec)

M. Well OK, language class. And the number of people who don't learn, by going to language class.

T. Mhm. But peo- but motivation factor's tremendously different though. [M. Mhm. Mmhmm.] I mean you could study Japanese here for three years and probably not be able to, to speak it very well at all but if you spent a year in Japan, [M. Mmhmn.] cuz the moti [vation]

M. [Where you're] re bombarded with complex structures right from the start-

W_4NB

Form: WH complete (how)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: N as discussant
Addressed to: M
Answered by: M, who requests restatement
Function: Open

W_4NB N. How do you know it's the complex structures, though?

M. Hmm?

P_5NB

Form: Yes/no, inverted, rising intonation
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: N as discussant
Addressed to: M
Answered by: M
Function: Challenge
Note: Restatement of preceding question, which was WH in form

P_5NB N. Being in, uh, the pers[on] learns a language, not in a classroom, uh can you be sure that he's picking up on the complex structures first? Er, maybe he's building up from simpler structures? [B. Yeh.] I mean he hears the simple structures first and then, builds on those. I don't- [M. Mhm.] U:h I don't know. I would- question whether or not- you hear the complex things and, and learn them first.

M. Mmhmn. Well, I, you know, I don't think, there doesn't seem to be any pattern to the way people, learn, eh?

N. That's debatable [I guess.]

M. [But- yeh.]

T. Well. I dunno when you learn a language you usually sh, start with, short, [sentences and phrases,]

M. [I know cuz that's the way] everybody teaches but that- [Laughs.]

T. [but even even if you] learned it, without- formal classroom, you'd still start, by picking up short phrases and words and sentences you wouldn't, you wouldn't suddenly come [out with uh] =

[Right out with,

M. of course, sure,]

T. =you know, a second conditional.

M. Mmhmm. But those things that you do learn would be the things [B. But-] you picked from what, [B. Yeh.] you [B. and,] needed to use.

B. But- the, the what's her name Lilly Fill- Wong Fillmore with hers she had uh Mexican-American kids, and they picked up what she said they memorized slogans first, like ads on TV. [M. Mmhmm.] Uh "Whiter is brighter" or something and that, [M. Mhm.] from that they started taking the words apar then and picking up the structures but everything they learned at the very beginning was, purely memorized [M. Mmhmm] slogans and it wasn't separated at all [M. Mmhmm] into units.

M. Mmhmm. And often that, that =

B. And so =

M. =kind of thing is- =

B. =It sticks [with you, sure if you hear it.]

M. = [fairly comple. though hmm?]

B. Yeh, yeh. That's what I'm saying. [M. Mhm.] So maybe, maybe that's right. Maybe (? sec) it's not necessary except as a teacher how are , e going to,

M. Mmhmm.

W_5NB
Form: WH completed after one interruption (how)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: N as discussant
Addressed to: Group
Answered by: M (leader of position)
Function: Open
Note: B's interruption is a "shadow" question; she is still open to the other view.

W_5NB N. How do you determine then that-

B. What,

N. =what those structures are that they need most [M. Mmhmm.] that your students [need] most.

B. [Yeh.]

M. Yeh, well, that tuh, is pretty much (3 sec) up to the uh you know individual, eh depends how you're going at it, if you're going to base it on uh, a set curriculum or if you can uh, open it up.

B. To (let uh)

M. Yeh. Uh, ( ) uh if you've got a class of twenty, you know, I'm not, about to start (Laughs) going [around individualizing] =

B. [developing your own curriculum.]

M. =you know, that kind of thing. It can't be done but if you've got a group of six people, I think that's uh, the best way to go at it. You can get them: uh, you know, talking with each other. And uh, saying what they want to say and, provide them with the, the means to say it.

T. I think each one of us has got to decide for himself what we consider simple and complex too before we could really- come to an agreement.

[Discussion continues about 2 more minutes but no consensus is reached.]

Text 3. Non-native speakers--mid-career (NN)

Topic: "Teachers should expect students to read aloud with good pronunciation."

O. OK then. We'll go down the list the. It's about ( )

( ). ( )

O. Let's look at item number one. "Teacher should expect students to read aloud with good pronunciation." I have selected DS: "disagree somewhat."

Q. I have selected, "agree somewhat."

L. I have strongly disagreed.

F. Uh we agree, "a- agree somewhat."

O. In the first place you know this "agree somewhat" and "disagree somewhat" I think are s[imilar]=

Q. [Similar,] that's right.

O. =similar. Have the same connotation =

L. Yeh.

O. =because we're hitting for a mid-point.

L. Uh huh. Maybe they [just run together.]

O. [You see, "disagree somewhat,"] it's going to be fi- be a matter of fifty fifty.

L. [That's right.]

F. [Uh, uh,] I- I kinda have reservations for this particular thing, I know I, I went through that and uh one of my teachers encouraged me to uh to read aloud you know, and so, few times I've read a whole book, you know, aloud and that helped speech,

L. That's [true but with- with good pronunciation. That's =

O. [Reading aloud, yes, but with good pronunciation.=]

L. = another thing.]

O. = That is the- .

F. Uh, uh.

O. Uh, OK. Carry on with your, reasons.

F. And uh,

O. That's why you agree somewhat.

F. Yes.

[The discussion goes on about two minutes: everyone presents reasons. O is pushing for a consensus.]

O. Yeh, so the point is, shall we se- settle on AS or shall we settle on DS (sigh). SA and SD are out of the question now, =

F. Hm, you see-

O. =to arrive at a consensus.

F. Right [because] the problem the problem is- =

L. [Right.]

F. =that in your countries you don't stress uh oracy wh-whereas we stress [O. Yes.] oracy. And I see this as,

O. So that's why you agree. So you are uh, you have a positive attitude towards that, that's what you are saying, whereas we have a, a bit of a negative attitude.

L. Right.

F. And I've seen myself in my own society, it was not a bad thing.

(3 sec)

O. I mean it's not harmful.

P_1NN

Form: Yes/no, elliptical, underlying SV order, rising intonation
Position: Accommodation
Questioner and Role: L as discussant
Addressed to: O(?)
Answered by: Not answered
Function: Challenge
Note: O is concerned with reaching a consensus. L presses her point and reopens the discussion

P_1NN L. It's not?

O. Even though it is not uh, ok we all settle, AS. What do you say.

L. No but the thing is [it,] it can be quite a waste of time to- =
( ). [( )]

O. Yeh?

L. =this reading aloud and then correcting the pronunciation and then the interest of your student will be shifted to the, pronunciation.

[The group finally concluded that reading aloud with good pronunciation was not possible with large groups anyway, and so they give up trying to reach a consensus.]

Topic: "Teachers should emphasize vocabulary acquisition."

[All state their positions. L is the first to give her reason.]

L. The reason I strongly agree to that is because uh probably is my level of instruction as well, [the] students =
O. [Yeh.]

L. =are supposed to acquire as much vocabulary as they can-

P_2NN

Form: How about. Implied polar (either/or) OR implied WH=Yes/no--"Does it mean from the beginning of your level or the beginning of English teaching?" OR "What does 'from the beginning' mean to you?"
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: O as middleman
Addressed to: L
Answered by: First O, then L.
Function Leading
Note: O interrupts L while she is giving her reason. He gives the answer to the question before she does.

P_2NN O. How about the phrase "from the beginning?"

L. Hm?

O. The phrase "from the beginning."

Q. "From the beginning."

L. Yes- when I [say-] beginning =
O. [from] the beginning =

O. =of your level.

L. =of my level of teaching [of teaching] not from the beginning=
Q. and others. [oh:::]

L. =of English teaching.

Topic: "Teachers should give grammatical explanations to their students."

[All state their positions. L is the first to give her reason.]

O. Ok L. Your reasons.

P_3NN

Form: Yes/no, inverted, mid-intonation, interrupted, prefaced with do you think.
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: O as middleman
Addressed to: L
Answered by: L
Function: Leading, to help L formulate her position.
Note: L answers affirmatively and goes on to elaborate.

W_1NN

Form: WH + Yes/no "Would you give grammatical explanations at the beginning of teaching?"
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: O as middleman
Addressed to: L
Answered by: L
Function: Leading
Note: Question is answered "no" like a yes/no question

W_2NN

Form: WH complete (what)
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: O as middleman
Addressed to: Q
Answered by: Q
Function: Leading, to help Q clarify her meaning

L. I guess my reason is:: because I'm teaching rather remedial English and what- what we usually end up doing i uhm trying to help our student unlearn all the bad habits, and one way to do it is try to give them some, some grammatical explanation so that probably [we hope mig\-]

O. [Well, you see, uh] I want to ask a question which may have nothing to do with the discussion but, do you think it has helped your students a lot to have s- =

L. It does, [it does-]

O. [=to get a better] grasp of [the]

L. [Yes] especially with certain contrastive analysis of the two languages, for example the [use of ( )]

O. [But in that] case you're thinking in terms of the level of the students you are [teaching.]

L. [Right,] right.

P_3NN

W_1NN O. What would be your opinion, of giving grammatical explanations at the, initial stages [of teaching.]

L. [No] not at all I don't [think that.]

O. [You would] strongly disagree then.

L. No, I would strongly disagree.

O. So you're you're speaking in terms of the level of your [L. Right.] learners. Yeh?

L. I guess all my answers here [because I have decided to =

O. [Yes, of course ( ) yeh related to your-]

L. =base my answers on-]

O. °Q.

Q. I think grammatical explanations will help our students learn a foreign [language.]

W_2NN O. [What] level of instruction do you have in mind when you say that?

Q. U:h.

O. Like at the begin, beginner's, beginner's level or intermediate level?

Q. Intermediate level.

O. I see.

Q. Intermediate level. °Yeh. But I don't want to spend too much time =

O. No [you wouldn't.]

Q. [=with gr]ammatical explanations.

O. No.

Q. That's why I uh agree somewhat.

O. Hm. How about you.

F. Well uh, uh I disagree somewhat because a lot of that's the practice in the past. And it uh hasn't really helped anybody.. And uh what uh we tend to do now is to uh to really just expose, students to the language. Exposure to a lot of varieties and all that, just expose them, and the grammer is uh, just comes naturally to them. So it's that kind of approach, more. Although when you come to the end of uh senior high school they uh have to have some to have some grasp of uh grammatical terms, of, you know, dealing with the language analyzing eh uh registers and all this stuff. So they need uh, some kind of equipment then. [Q. Yeh.] And so towards the end of high school,

Q. So in other words you're relying more on exposure to good English [F. yeh.] than on grammatical explanations. Now, the thing is what if these, learners of yours don't react to- now further, say he goes on writing like "I goed to school yesterday." g-o-e-d he kept on writing and you kept on correcting him. Would you correct him or just let him learn for himself that "went" is the correct form? Would he himself become aware of it and, would he use uh would he change?

P_4NN

Form: Either/or restated as Yes/no, inverted, rising intonation
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: Q as discussant
Addressed to: F
Answered by: F
Function: Challenge

F. He would if uh he hears everybody else uh using something different and if uh,

Q. The point I had in mind is back in Burma, even if I said, "I goed to school yesterday," nobody would laugh at me, nobody would bother to correct me. They would accept it because they understood what I said. You see? "Tomorrow I went to school." They wouldn't say anything, because they understand. You know what I mean. So,

F. So I suppose (you teach them grammar then OR you're teaching grammar then)

Q. So what's the point of uh, uh what I'm trying to say is uh, it all depends on the individuals uh, but if, one of the aims of your English instruction is to let your learners produce correct forms, you've got to do something and you will do something. Exposure itself is not sufficient that's what I feel. And even sometimes, for reading comprehension, grammatical notions ought to be understood [L. "Uh hum.] because, they can really kind of, they can really get bogged down when they don't uh, like, say, "The bridge is being constructed." This "being constructed" is a grammatical structure, but it carries some kind of meaning, it's a passive construction as we know, but many of them don't know that, they may now the word "construct" but "being constructed" is a little bit different. So in that sense some grammatical structure does: come in handy and that's why I said "agree somewhat." But as Q feels, I don't believe in sort of spending my time giving them all grammatical explanations.

[The discussion concludes shortly after this without a consensus. They comment that they think the questionnaire was a deliberate device to evoke differing opinions.]

Topic: "Teachers should teach simple structures before complex ones."

[All state their positions--two "agree somewhat" and two "strongly agree." F is the first to give his reason.]

F. No uh yeh I, I put "agree somewhat" because uh (4 sec) some simple structures contain uh very complex ideas.

(3 sec)

Q. [Laughs.]

F. Yeh because you can you can you can understand the structure uh v- very well, but, uh, there's something else in there it's the idea, the load, of that thing is more important.

P_5NN

L. Isn't that- something semantic that- that's implied in the grammatical structure? Is that what you're referring to?

O. It's not only that. You see it could be something like, say "I enjoy, the book."

L. °Uh huh.

P_6NN

O. Now that's a simple structure, in terms of, subject verb object right?

L. °Uh huh.

O. The children would come up with, "I enjoyed my friend."

L. But that's what I say, that's not grammatical, that's semantic.

O. I enjoyed my friend.

L and Q. [Laugh.]

L. I understand what you're [(saying)]

O. [It's not] semantic, it's a ques[tion of gram]matical structure....

L. [It is sem-]

[This dispute was never resolved. It was just dropped.]

P_5NN

Form: Yes/no, negative, inverted, rising intonation, followed by Yes/no affirmative, inverted, rising intonation
Position: Presentation
Questioner and Role: L as discussant
Addressed to: F
Answered by: O
Function: Challenge
Note: O takes over

P_6NN

Form: Affirmative tag (right?)
Position: Exploration
Questioner and Role: O as discussant
Addressed to: L
Answered by: L
Function: Softened assertion
Note: The truth of the assertion seems obvious to O